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A CLEAR STATEMENT OF ALLIED POST-WAR AIMS IS IMPERATIVE!

James A. Crain

The war is entering one of its most critical phases insofar as relations between the United Nations are concerned. Though a clear statement of Allied post-war aims would probably do more toward final overthrow of Hitler than a major military victory, no such statement has been made. It is now becoming apparent that no such statement has been made for the very good reason that there is no agreement between the two major powers - the United States and Great Britain - on post-war plans. President Roosevelt, Vice President Wallace, Secretary Cordell Hull, Under Secretary Sumner Welles, Mr. Wendell Willkie, and many others influential in American life have gone on record in the most positive terms regarding the sort of world we want after this war is over. What we forget is that no comparable statements have come from governmental quarters in Great Britain.

The Atlantic Charter signed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill on August 14, 1941, looks toward the reestablishment of a liberal and benevolent status quo ante, except at three points. The Charter is declared to be a joint declaration of "certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world." The Fourth article states, "They will endeavor... to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity." To that article Mr. Churchill insisted on adding the famous clause, "with due respect for their existing obligations," a reservation which opens the way for complete nullification. The Eighth article, after declaring that all nations "must come to the abandonment of the use of force," states categorically that "pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security," nations that threaten aggression outside of their frontiers must be disarmed (underscoring mine). The clear implication is that Britain and the U.S. do not intend to disarm until that "wider and more permanent system of general security" is perfected. The Third article, which might have given hope of a new world, has been nullified by Britain's refusal to apply it to India.

In the light of the above many events of the past year and a half come to have a new significance. President Roosevelt has declared for the "Four Freedoms." Mr. Churchill has been silent. Vice President Wallace, speaking before members and guests of the Free World Association at a dinner in New York on May 8, 1942, declared the war to be a part of a "long-drawn-out people's revolution" which began with the American and French revolutions, was continued through the Bolivarian revolutions in Latin America, the German Revolution of 1848, and the Russian Revolution of 1918. Again Mr. Churchill was silent. Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles told the New York Herald-Tribune forum on foreign affairs that a rapid perfecting of relationships between the United Nations is necessary in order that "the form of international organization determined to be best suited for international security will have developed to such an extent that it can fully operate as soon as the present military partnership has achieved its purpose of complete victory. Another essential is the reaching of agreements before the armistice is signed upon those international adjustments, based on the universal principles of the Atlantic Charter, and pursuant to the pledges contained in our mutual-aid agreements with many of our allies, which we believe to be desirable and necessary for the maintenance of a peaceful and prosperous world of the future." That Mr. Welles delivered a speech like that without every word having been carefully weighed by the White House is unthinkable. His meaning is unmistakable. He is saying: Let us decide now what form of post-world we are fighting for. If we wait until the armistice the nations allied together in this cause will not need each other as they do now and agreements may be difficult. Failure to commit themselves to a common plan wrecked the peace and lost the victory to the Allies at the close of the last war. Gissimo Chiang Kai-shek sent from Chungking to the New York Herald-Tribune forum a forthright declaration of China's position. Said he, "There will be neither peace, nor hope, nor future for any of us unless we honestly aim at political, social, and economic justice for all peoples of the world, great and small.... We of the United Nations can achieve that aim only by starting at once to organize an international order, embracing all peoples, to enforce peace and justice among them. To make that start we must begin today, and not tomorrow, to apply those principles among ourselves, even at some sacrifice of the absolute power of our individual countries." These are the things that liberals around the world are fighting for. These are the things the "little people" of the world want. These are the things for which the people of China have suffered for five years and of which India dreams.

(Continued on page 4)

HOME MISSIONS COUNCIL PLANS RURAL CHURCH MEET

The Home Missions Council of North America meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, December 5, 1942 through its Town and Country Church Committee, planned a nationwide program of advance in rural church work to be launched immediately.

An important item in the program is the planning of a National Convocation on the Church in Town and Country in October 1943. The purpose of the conference is to arouse interest in Protestant rural religious work, to promote fellowship among town and country pastors and lay leaders, to promote cooperation between rural and urban churches, and to enlist the interest and support of denominational administrators in the work of town and country churches. The Convocation will be called under the auspices of the Home Missions Council and will be held somewhere in the Middle West, perhaps in Columbus, Ohio or Indianapolis, Indiana. It is expected that the Convocation will be held regularly every two years, with regional sessions in alternate years to bring together denominational representatives, rural teachers on theological seminary, and agricultural college faculties, extension and farm security leaders, officers of farm and social agencies, and other persons interested in rural life.

Other phases of the program of advance are:

Closer relationships with state councils of churches to enable them to enlarge and improve their services to rural churches.

Promotion of the observance of Rural Life Sunday and Harvest Festivals in urban as well as rural churches.

Improvement and expansion of literature devoted to town and country church work, especially methods for ministers and lay workers.

Encouragement of study and research projects.

Publicity for Protestant rural church work.

Training of rural church administrators of state boards, synods, and conferences.

Re-statement of the social ideals of the churches for agriculture and rural life.

Encouragement of cooperation between Churches in rural areas.

Closer cooperation between church agencies and federal agencies, such as Farm Security Administration, farm extension service, etc.

Cooperation with Catholic and Jewish rural life groups.

Encouragement of local church and community surveys.

The Council has long carried on an effective program that includes short courses, institutes, and conferences for rural ministers, summer religious service among sharecroppers and migrant workers, and other service to rural churches.

WHO IS TO BLAME FOR THE COCOANUT GROVE TRAGEDY?

On Saturday night, November 28, nearly 1,000 persons crowded into Cocoonut Grove night club in Boston to celebrate the victory or erase the sting of defeat of a football game. Before midnight the place was gutted by fire and 484 of them were dead. Who is to blame for this greatest fire disaster since the burning of the Iroquois Theatre in Chicago in 1903?

Early editions of metropolitan newspapers carried headlines blaming a 16-year-old bus boy who inadvertently touched a match to flimsy decorations while attempting to replace a light bulb that some 'prankster' had removed. But the boy certainly was not to blame for the character of the place, its three long horse-shoe bars, for the flood of liquor served across the bars and at the tables. Nor was he responsible for the inflammable decorations that violated every standard safety regulation. He cannot be blamed for the lack of fire protection, lack of exits, for the boarded up windows or for the locked door. He had nothing to do with the fact that the darkened 'Melody Lounge' in the basement, was a place where, according to the secretary of the Bartender's Union, patrons could "mug their girls better." Who was responsible for the employment of a 16-year-old in such a place? Who permitted him to work in a place and at an hour that violated every decent child-labor statute ever devised? Was he to blame for drink-befuddled minds that went into panic at the cry of 'Fire!'

Had such a tragedy occurred during prohibition days one can imagine the hysterical cry that would have gone up that the drys were responsible. We shall not make the mistake of blaming the brewers and distillers, though one wonders what Messrs. Seagram and other liquor manufacturers who loudly proclaim their sense of social responsibility have ever done to see that the places where liquor is sold are either physically or morally safe.

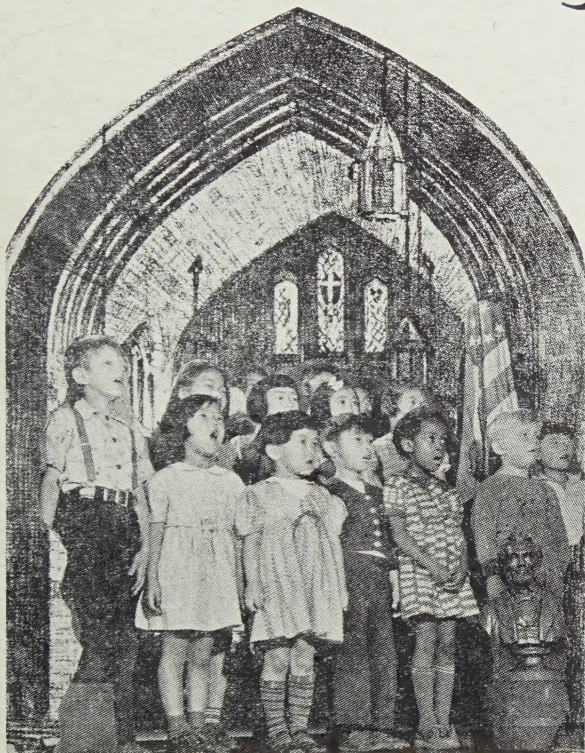
Primarily to blame is the low sense of civic responsibility that exists in many communities in regard to any sort of regulation of the liquor traffic. Since repeal brewers, distillers, and liquor sellers have appeared to enjoy a special status in many communities, as though an effort were being made to repay them for their exile during the prohibition era.

Following the Cocoonut Grove fire there was a rush to clean up drinking places all over the land. In a number of instances popular resorts were closed until fire hazards could be eliminated. Tavern-keepers and night club owners who were violating the law in regard to employment of minors or serving minors suddenly began to take steps to get within the law. Fire and police officials who had been lax to the point of criminal negligence in their inspections suddenly began to enforce the laws. Communities that had become tolerant of the high jinks that characterize many of these places became aware that it is their own boys and girls that frequent them.

Cocoonut Grove taught a bitter lesson. But there are other Cocoonut Groves and fire is not the only danger that lurks in them.

Interracial Brotherhood

Through Christian Unity



RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY

February 14, 1943

Marking

BROTHERHOOD MONTH



THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY

Interracial Brotherhood Through Christian Unity

A MESSAGE FOR RACE RELATIONS SUNDAY AND BROTHERHOOD MONTH

from

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

"God that made the world and all things therein . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." Acts 17:26 (King James Ver.)

RACE prejudice is a disease that has spread through the body of humanity. We are all affected by it. Humanity is sick.

Has Christianity any remedy? If we mean by Christianity everything that has been associated with the name during the centuries, then the answer would be that Christianity itself shares the infection. If, however, we mean essential Christianity, then the complete answer is YES!

Essential Christianity has taught and practiced that God is the Father of all, that all men are therefore brothers and must be so treated. In Jesus Christ, there cannot be discriminations based upon race.

In the early Christian Church there was no racial segregation among people of the European, Asiatic and African world. Fellowship between races and equality of racial opportunity expressed itself in the fact that one of the four leaders who specially commissioned the apostle Paul at Antioch was a black man. The man of color was not merely tolerated on the edges of the Christian movement. He was at the center of the fellowship.

These Christian attitudes and convictions regarding race are gaining general acceptance:

(1) Science agrees. It says that the blood of humanity is one; that the same types of blood are in all races. The brain of humanity is one. There are no permanently inferior or superior races. There are only more developed and less developed races.

(2) Democracy approves. Its basic principle is equality of opportunity for all. That "all" must mean *all* or it means nothing.

Interracial Brotherhood Through Christian Unity

WORSHIP SERVICE SUGGESTIONS*

CALL TO WORSHIP

Minister: Oh bless our God, ye peoples, and make the voice of his praise to be heard.

People: Blessed be God, Who hath not turned away my prayer, nor his loving kindness from me.

AN ACT OF ADORATION

Minister: Worthy art thou, O God, to receive the honor and the power; for thou didst create all things, and because of thy will they are and were created.

People: Glory be to thee, O God.

Minister: Glory to thee, O Christ, who didst redeem with thy love men of every kindred and tongue and people and nation.

People: Glory be to thee, O Christ.

Minister: Glory to thee, O Holy Spirit, for thy work in the Church, which will not cease until thou hast made of all mankind one family, to the praise and glory of God.

People: Glory be to thee, O Holy Spirit.

(From *Prayers, New and Old, The Forward Movement*, p. 20)

RESPONSIVE READING *The Father of Mankind*

Minister: By the word of the Lord were the heavens made.
And all the host of them by the breath of his mouth.

People: Let all the earth fear the Lord;
Let all the inhabitants of the world stand in awe of Him.

Minister: The Lord looketh from Heaven;
He beholdeth all the sons of men.

People: Let the peoples praise thee, Let all the peoples praise thee.

Minister: He that fashioneth the hearts of them all,
That considereth all their works.

People: God be merciful unto us, and bless us,
And cause his face to shine upon us.

Minister: He hath made of one blood all nations of men
For to dwell on all the face of the earth.

People: Give unto the Lord, O ye kindreds of the people,
Give unto the Lord glory and strength.

Minister: As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.

People: The spirit itself heareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God.

Minister: Ye are all children of God, by faith in Christ Jesus.

People: And if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ.

Minister: There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.

People: Let the peace of God rule in your hearts, to the which also ye are called in one body; and be ye thankful.

Minister: There is one body, and one Spirit, even as also ye were called in one hope of your calling.

People: One Lord, one faith, one baptism,

Minister: One God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all.

People: But unto each one of us was the grace given according to the measure of the gift of Christ.

Minister: If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk,

People: Giving diligence to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

Minister: No man hath seen God at any time. If we love another, God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us.

People: God is love; and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.

Minister: He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?

People: This commandment have we from him, That he who loveth God love his brother also.

All: And there shall be one fold, and one shepherd.

LITANIES FOR THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE RACES

Minister: Almighty God, Father of all men, Who hast given good gifts to each one of us through Christ, we thank Thee for Thy manifold grace vouchsafed to every race and nation.

People: We thank Thee, the Everlasting God, Crëator of the ends of the earth.

Minister: For the gift each people brings into the treasury of the world's life,

People: We thank Thee, in whom all the peoples of the world are blessed.

Minister: For the wisdom each race has won out of its joys and sorrows, and the service each race can render to the whole family of men,

People: We thank Thee, the Author of Wisdom and the Lover of concord.

Minister: For the vision of a world in which all differences shall make harmony, and men of varied gifts shall build together one brotherhood,

People: We thank Thee, Who workest in us both to will and to do of Thy good pleasure.

Minister: For Jesus Christ, who has broken down the middle wall of partition, and reconciled us in one body unto Thee through the cross,

People: We thank Thee, the Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named. *Amen.*

Minister: From the mistaken pride that counts our own kind better than those who differ,

People: Save us, O God, in Whom is no respect of persons.

Minister: From the wilful blindness that looks upon our own virtues and upon others' faults.

People: Deliver us, Merciful Father, Who giveth sight to the blind.

Minister: From seeking privileges for ourselves that we would deny to those of other kindred,

People: Prevent us, Thou Who knowest the thoughts of our hearts.

Minister: For our neglect of those who suffer wrongs through no fault of their own and endure outrage at the hands of those who hate because they do not understand,

People: Forgive us, Thou Who canst pardon those who know not what they do.

Minister: For our forgetfulness of Christ, whose cross can slay the enmity and preach peace to the far off and the nigh,

People: Have mercy upon us, and make us fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the Gospel. *Amen.*

Minister: That we may have the sympathy to enter into life with all those with whom Thou hast made us one,

People: Create in us a clean heart and a right spirit, O God.

Minister: That we may learn to understand what other folk must bear and how we can help to bear their burdens,

People: Enlighten us with the wisdom that is from above, where Thou art, O God.

Minister: That we may be strong to rise above all prejudice and to live by truth seen clearly,

People: Make us new creatures in Christ, O God.

Minister: That we may be patient when the way to brotherhood is long, undiscouraged when the obstacles are many, and forward-looking though the way ahead be hard,

People: Guide us in Thy truth, and teach us, for Thou art the God of our salvation. *Amen.*

Minister: For the enrichment of the life of every race and nation,

People: Hear us, Most Bountiful God.

Minister: For the common good that every family is called to seek and serve,

People: Hear us, O Father of the common life,

Minister: For all who are shut up within the walls of self-love or blind because they will not see,

People: Hear us, O Saviour of the World.

Minister: For children of every race, ready to walk in new ways until evil custom and the traditions of ignorance enslave them,

People: Hear us, Thou Who canst make all things new.

Minister: For those to whom the doors of opportunity are barred,

People: Hear us, O God of the abundant life.

Minister: For all victims of injustice, cruelty, and terror,

People: Hear us, God of the Compassionate Heart,

Minister: For all who labor for justice, give themselves to mercy, work for the undoing of old wrongs, and lift burdens from the oppressed,

People: Hear us, O God, Who are working even until now where pity dwells,
Minister: For all who live by the faith that overcomes, hope for Thy Kingdom of righteousness and peace, and serve their brethren with a love that never fails,
People: Hear us, O God, Whose Word of life for all mankind was made flesh in Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

PRAYERS

1. ALMIGHTY FATHER, we, who are members of different races and confessions, desire together to worship thy holy name in fellowship with each other. Thou art our Father, and we are thy children; show us that our hopes and fears and aspirations are one. Forgive, O God, the envies, suspicions and misunderstandings which have blinded our eyes and thrust us asunder. Purify our hearts; and teach us to walk together in the laws of thy commandments and in the ways of human friendship.

Help us, O God, to give honor where honor is due, regardless of race, color, or creed, following what our inmost heart tells us to be thy will. Deepen our respect for unlikeness and our eagerness to understand one another that, in a higher unity of the spirit, we may transcend our differences. Gladly may we share thy best gifts, working together to build the city upon earth, we ask in thy holy name. *Amen.*

2. O LORD AND FATHER OF MANKIND, open our eyes to see the vision of thy Kingdom to which all the nations of the world are to bring their respective contributions. Enable us to so live and work and make known thy Message of Love given to us in Jesus Christ that men may be led to surrender themselves to thee and thy purpose of love. Strengthen the bonds of spiritual fellowship that men of diverse races and heritages have been able to discover in Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

3. O JESUS CHRIST, as thou dost pass through the earth, even though it be by the instrumentality of very imperfect disciples, may race after race pause in its work and worship, look up, see thee, draw nearer, listen, worship, and turn from all the past to follow thee. *Amen.*

(A Prayer from Tasmania)

SCRIPTURE LESSONS Isaiah 60: 1-7, 61: 1-9 Luke 10: 25-37

HYMNS "Life of ages, richly poured"—Samuel Johnson
 "In Christ there is no East or West"—John Oxenham
 "O brother man, fold to thy heart thy brother"—John G. Whittier
 "Not alone for mighty empire"—William P. Merrill
 "My country, 'tis of thee"—Samuel F. Smith
 "O Lord, our God, Thy Mighty Hand"—Henry Van Dyke
 "Mine eyes have seen the glory"—Julia Ward Howe

BENEDICTION *(Prayers New and Old, p. 85)*

Prayers numbered 1, 2, 3 are from "A World at One in Prayer"

Edited by Daniel J. Fleming, Harper & Brothers. Pages 40, 109, 163.

*These Worship Service suggestions were prepared by the Rev. Morgan P. Noyes, D.D., minister, Central Presbyterian Church, Montclair, N. J.

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(3) Common sense sanctions. It teaches us that the color of the skin, the slant of the eye, or the shape of the head are absurd and precarious bases for claims to racial superiority.

CHRISTIANITY, Science, Democracy, and Common Sense converge on one conclusion: Man must be treated as man, apart from race and birth and color. These principles and practices regarding race have not yet been fully accepted among us. Negro citizens have been consigned to the edges of our civilization, denied many of its rights and privileges. They have been hedged about and oppressed. Other racial minorities have been denied their due rights and opportunities as Americans.

These conditions must be changed. The question of race is no longer a domestic issue. It has been thrust into the center of the world's consciousness; it is a world issue. We cannot say we are fighting for democracy abroad and refuse to practice it at home.

The Christian gospel of love is the remedy for sick humanity. The challenge of the hour is for Christians to apply it to race relations.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

1. Continuously assert the infinite value and dignity of every person in the sight of God, regardless of his race or color.
2. Vigorously oppose all policies and practices of racial discrimination in armed forces.
3. Work constructively for the relieving of the acute White-Negro tensions growing up in camp and war industrial communities.
4. As employers or workers give strong support to President Roosevelt's Executive Order against discrimination in industry.
5. Work to banish from our speech derogatory terms such as "darky," "smoke," "nigger," "Waacoons" (the most recent), "wops," "yellow monkeys," etc.
6. Help expand the program of spreading the truth about Negroes and Negro life and history through all channels of publicity and education.
7. Recast our whole outlook and spirit in regard to the Negro citizen; look on him, not as a "problem" but as a possibility.

8. Throw opportunities for government employment open to all citizens on the same basis.
9. Stimulate Christian young people to sponsor interracial meetings and services of worship. Some who have done so call this a "fellowship church."
10. Sponsor "fireside forums" for discussion of neighborhood problems and interests.
11. Invite persons of other races to teach in church schools and to take part in leadership of church services.

During the month of February the National Conference of Christians and Jews observes Brotherhood Week. The Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches during the same month fosters the observance of Race Relations Sunday and Brotherhood Month. Each of these organizations hopes that other national and local organizations and communities interested in both observances will cooperate in plans and program. Special literature on Brotherhood Week may be secured from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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In his New York office Mr. Willkie explains a point to the interviewer

By **WENDELL L. WILLKIE**

immediately ready for freedom, or that they could now defend their freedom if given it. But today they all want to be given some date to work toward, and some guaranty that the date will be kept. For the future, they do not ask that we solve their problems for them. They ask only for the chance to solve their own problems with our economic and political co-operation.

That is why I have said again and again that if we want to win this war, and win the peace afterward, we must take this new world spirit into account. We must do our planning as well as our fighting on a global basis. We must rise above purely national and racial considerations. We must insist that this is a United Nations' war, and recognize that China is a partner and Russia is a partner and all the others whom we have been ignoring or relegating to a "second table" position are partners just as much as we. I am the last man in the world to desire or deserve the label "anti-British," but I must, if necessary, run the risk of being so labeled in order to declare that I don't want an Anglo-American war. I don't want an Anglo-American peace. I want a people's war and a people's peace.

Parenthetically, I have noticed that the moment you begin to talk like this, some people—often well-meaning people—immediately try to drop you into some category of their own making. You're pro-British or anti-British; you're pro-this or pro-that. I am frank to say that nothing annoys me more. I don't want to be dropped into domestic or foreign categories, pro-British or anti-British, pro-Russian or anti-Russian.

I am just pro-*liberty*, that is all. And I am pro-*liberty* for the Chinese just as I am for the Russian, the Egyptian, the Iranese, the Britisher and the American. I am against the exploitation and oppression of minority groups everywhere, at home as well as abroad. I am against colonial imperialism, the forced rule of one people over another, by whomever it is imposed and by whatever "benevolent" aims it is excused.

I have found that to the peoples of Africa, the Middle East, China and the whole Far East, freedom means the orderly but scheduled abolition of

We Must Win the Peace

(As told to and adapted by Clarence W. Hall)

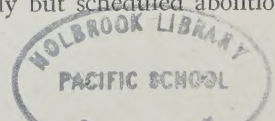
SINCE returning from my recent world tour, during which, as a private American citizen, I traveled a total of 31,000 miles in forty-nine days and discussed the war and the post-war world with many hundreds of persons ranging from rulers and military leaders of great nations to common soldiers and humble citizens of many lands, I have been doing a great deal of talking.

I have declared my conviction that in a military sense we can, and probably will, win this war. We have the resources, the man power and the courage to do so. But I have been trying with every power I possess to hammer home the truth that a military victory alone will not be enough. We must fight our way through, not only to the defeat of our enemies, but to the triumph of a new world idea. We must win the peace.

To win that peace, I have said, we must plan *now* for peace on a global basis. The world must be made free, economically and politically, for all nations and all men. It is inescapable that there can be no peace for any part of the world unless the foundations of peace are made secure throughout all parts of the earth.

On my trip I gathered many impressions. But to me the most significant of all is the awakening of the common man all over the world. Everywhere men are shaking off the old shackles. Everywhere they are catching the vision of freedom, fundamental in the Christian doctrine of the brotherhood of all mankind, based on the dignity of the individual and his inherent right to liberty and equality of opportunity, irrespective of his race, color, nationality or sex.

Those who persist in holding to such old shibboleths as "the white man's burden," and talk blithely of reverting after the war to the obsolete levels of an imperialistic status quo, either do not know the score or stubbornly ignore it. They cannot, or will not, see that a great process has started which no man can stop. Men and women all over the world are on the march—physically, intellectually, spiritually. After centuries of ignorant and dull compliance, hundreds of millions of people in eastern Europe and Asia are beginning to see a great light. They are no longer willing to be Eastern slaves for Western profits. This is not to say that all the colonially dominated peoples of the world feel themselves



the colonial system. It is not too much to say that this sort of freedom is their number one war aim. Lately they have begun to wonder whether it is also ours. We have said that the rule of people by other peoples is not freedom, and is not what we must fight to preserve. But when we do not even practice the Four Freedoms at home and when the Prime Minister of Great Britain bluntly tells the world "we mean to hold our own," the other peoples of the world are disturbed. And I share their apprehension.

I am disturbed because I can see how the ignoring or repressing such vital human upsurges can sabotage the peace and give us nothing more than just another Versailles. That is why I have been insisting all along—and shall continue to insist—that we of the United Nations must get together and formulate a clear definition of our war aims. We must have a pattern to work to, with worthy and satisfactory goals for *all*. Moreover, this joint agreement on purposes must be established not only by leaders of the Allied nations; it must be established among the Allied peoples themselves. By the mutations of political fortune, leaders come and go, but the will and purposes of the common man abide forever. We must make sure that these peoples know what they are fighting for, and we must make sure that we are all fighting for essentially the same thing.

We cannot wait to develop this joint purpose until after the war, when the already developing spirit of rampant nationalism may hold sway, and expect then by some miracle to accomplish what history teaches us must be accomplished while we fight or not at all. We must now pound home the sober truth, attested throughout the long experience of nations, that *we shall win in the future peace only what we win in the war*—no more and no less.

All men of good will, and especially those who hold to the Christian ethic, know that a just war, like a just peace, is dependent upon something higher than military or political power. They know that we must, right now while war is on, conduct not only invasions of arms but invasions of ideas. America must be more than the arsenal of democracy; it must also be the arsenal of ideals.

The only wars of which we need not be ashamed are those that have

been fought for high and noble purposes. The American Revolution was such a war. We did not fight that war because we hated Englishmen and wanted to kill them, but because we loved freedom and wanted to establish it. Our purpose was clear, it was lofty, and it was well defined.

Moreover, events of the past few weeks have proved that, in addition to needing a world charter that will define our aims for the postwar world, we need a strong code for the conduct of war itself. The peoples of the world must be given again the conviction that *the banners Americans fight under bear bright, clean colors*. Until recently, the world has taken that pretty much for granted. We have often been charged with being too idealistic and therefore too impractical. But recently we have gone into reverse.

Under the lame excuse of "expediency" to save American lives and win an easy victory, we are collaborating with Vichy's Darlan. After promising freedom to the French, we put into control over them the very man who has helped enslave them. And then, when the world's astonishment sweeps down upon us, we endeavor to explain that the deal with this arch-betrayer is only temporary, and that we shall ditch him fast when we have got all we can from him.

With all my soul I hate this false finagling with expediency, temporary or permanent. By it we lose moral force; therefore, by it we may lose the peace. Nobody will deny the importance of winning the war, nor the even greater importance of winning the peace. But some of our leaders seem to forget that *how* we win the war may determine *whether* we win the peace.

We must have something more than the merely negative ideal of destruction for a barbaric enemy who has wantonly attacked our shores, grabbed our possessions, slain our loved ones. National face-saving is not enough. National vengeance is not our aim. In a contest held some time ago, the best name formulated for this conflict was "The War for Survival." The term died at birth, as it deserved to die. It failed to challenge the imagination. It failed to fire the soul.

It is the stern duty of the religious forces of this land to insist that America write upon its war banners those

ideals which activated our founders. It is so easy in war to degenerate into hatreds and cruelties and deceptions that negate every high endeavor we seek. Lacking a higher purpose, we find it so easy to adopt the creed of out-Hitlering Hitler, of retaliating in kind, of descending to the moral level of our enemies, and thus nullifying our position of "rightness" in the eyes of the world. Only if the religious forces have the courage and the intelligence to insist that America keep its purposes clean and clear will religious values be enabled to play an active role in building the new world.

I do not call for a canonizing of democracy per se. But I do call for a recognition of those spiritual values inherent in the foundation of our nation, and for an insistence, on the part of those who can make such insistence felt, that these values be preserved as foundation stones forever.

I am addressing, in *THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE*, a Christian audience. I do not ask that the Christian Church, as such, come out and bless war and declare it holy. But it is as much the Church's right and duty to support a nation when that nation is in the right as it is the Church's right and duty to raise its voice in no uncertain terms when that nation is in the wrong. To withdraw in pious isolation from either task is as reprehensible as it is impossible in time of total war.

We can, if we will, put upon our banners such high purpose as will make all the aims of the so-called New Order propagandists look cheap and unworthy by comparison. We can, if we will, put there such flaming ideals of justice and liberty as will make the banners of all the dictators seem low and besmirched.

To the church groups all over the land I would say: Begin to work right now, and insist right now, on the kind of world order you are going to have when this madness is done. Don't wait until the war is over, because if you do we will get nothing in the peace but blood and ashes. And don't allow your strivings to be muddled or diverted by expediency. For expediency is offensive to every principle you profess. The Christian religion was founded upon the rejection of expediency. And Christ's death has symbolized that rejection through the centuries.

The National Conference of Social Work will hold three regional conferences in 1943 instead of the usual national gathering which calls together some 10,000 social workers from all parts of the nation. Following the lead of the larger body, the Church Conference of Social Work will also hold regional meetings in conjunction with the meetings of the National Conference. The first will be held in New York, March 8-12, the second at St. Louis, April 12-16, and the third at Cleveland, May 24-28. James A. Crain, J. Eric Carlson, and Clark Walker Cummings will serve on the committee for the St. Louis meeting of the Church Conference.

Two conscientious objectors from Civilian Public Service Camps are on detached service to Massachusetts General Hospital to aid in an experiment to determine how much sea water the human body can safely stand. The experiment requires them to drink an unvarying specified amount of liquid every day, with more and more sea water being added to the fresh each day. Knowledge gained from this experiment will aid in planning for the safety of those adrift at sea. Two other COs are undergoing high altitude tests at University of Chicago Hospital. The men spend six hours a day in a reduced pressure chamber while their reactions are tested by scientists. The experiment will continue indefinitely, with two new men coming in every three months. Ten COs are participating in nutritional experiments being carried on in Welfare Hospital, Welfare Island, New York City.

Earl M. Griggs, pastor of Central Christian Church, Dayton, Ohio, and Mrs. Griggs sent to every member of the congregation and to friends a most unusual Christmas greeting, consisting of a copy of the Message of the National Study Conference on the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace held at Delaware, Ohio, March 3-5, 1942, attractively bound in a blue cover, with appropriate Christmas sentiments. The gift is a practical contribution to "Peace on Earth and Goodwill to Men."

Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches points out that rural ministers have access to a mine of important information through the free publications of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. Write for Miscellaneous Publication No. 60, containing a list of all Department publications, with the price of those that are not free. Upon request you will be put on the mailing list to receive the free monthly list of publications. Local county agents have on display many bulletins of the Department and of state agricultural colleges dealing with problems of the farm and the home.

With about 800 students from various South American countries already enrolled in Catholic colleges and universities of this country, the National Catholic Welfare Council is preparing to offer 104 new scholarships provided by 57 colleges and universities of that church, says Among Us, newsletter of the Committee on International Relations of the National Education Association. Three South American universities are offering 30 scholarships to students from the United States.

Race Relations Sunday will be observed in the churches throughout the United States on February 14, 1943, instituting Brotherhood Month. In view of the growing seriousness of the racial situation in this country it is expected that the day will be observed on a wider scale than heretofore.

The Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council has prepared an attractive poster showing a group of children of various races singing together in the chancel of a church. A packet of materials giving guidance for interracial observance in worship, in children's, young people's, and women's groups, together with a leaflet of material for the use of speakers has been prepared and is now ready for distribution. Packets can be had for 6 cents each or \$4 per 100 by sending an order to Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York.

FEDERAL COUNCIL SPEAKS OUT ON RACE SITUATION

The Report on the State of the Church, submitted to the biennial meeting of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, at its meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, December 8-11, among other important matters, dealt with racial tensions in the United States in a vigorous and prophetic way, as indicated by the following excerpts:

"Christian teaching about the essential unity of the race as created by God and as redeemed by Christ is so clear that there really can be no controversy about its meaning.... And yet it is plain that there is an absolute contradiction between the practices, and often the beliefs, of Christians who belong to the white race and this clear meaning of their faith....

The plight of the American Negro is now a major illustration of the conflict between the pretensions and the actual life of the democratic nations.... Now that the colored races are in a position to assert their power, we can either change our ways and overcome our race prejudice, knowing that it is a dread disease, or we can expect to enter a new period of interracial conflict that will be more disastrous than previous world conflicts.... It may help us to solve our own Negro-White problem when we see it as part of the same world problem that is made obvious to us by the stirrings within India and by the immense creativity of the people of China. The myth of white supremacy is now shattered. The Church should stress the promise in the new political consciousness of American Negroes and it should support them in their struggles against economic discrimination on the part of employers and labor unions, against social prejudice, against the increasing menace of lynching, against state laws that deprive them of effective citizenship.... The Church must find ways of emphasizing the unity of mankind in its own fellowship. Segregation in the Church is a glaring contradiction of the claim of the Church to be a fellowship. The Church by becoming in fact a fellowship across racial lines - and there has been definite improvement here within the past two decades - can help solve the general problem of race relations in the nations."

What does Mr. Churchill say to all this?

Waiting until the defeat of Rommel in Africa put a whacking victory under his belt, he declared to parliament, "We mean to hold our own.... I have not become the King's First Minister to preside at the liquidation of the British Empire. For that task, if it ever were prescribed, some one else would have to be found." More recently Lord Cranbourne, whose retirement was widely interpreted as a preliminary to eventual appointment as Viceroy of India, voiced the same sentiments. While it has not yet gotten into the press, private reports indicate that prominent Americans returning from Britain are disturbed over attitudes in high political circles. According to these reports, the men who are in control in England are thinking of maintaining the Empire pretty much as it was before the war. Even the British Labor Party, it is said, is not in position to sponsor any radical changes, due to the belief that the loss of India's revenues would lower the standard of living of British workers. Against all this must be weighed the ringing declarations of the Malvern Conference, representing influential elements in the Anglican Church, and the statement of the Commission on International Questions and Social Responsibility of the Free Churches.

Against this Tory attitude Mr. Willkie has consistently protested. On his return from his trip around the world he declared, "Nothing of importance can be won in the peace which has not already been won in the war itself." On December 6, in an amazingly blunt statement published in Methodism's Christian Advocate, (see enclosure) he again said, "I am the last man in the world to desire or deserve the label 'anti-British,' but I must, if necessary, run the risk of being so labelled in order to declare that I don't want an Anglo-American war. I don't want an Anglo-American peace. I want a people's war and a people's peace.... I am against the exploitation and oppression of minority groups everywhere, at home and abroad. I am against colonial imperialism, the forced rule of one people over another, by whomsoever it is imposed and by whatever 'benevolent' aims it is excused."

We shall be deceived if we think that only Mr. Churchill stands against a new world order. Our own government in spite of pronouncements in favor of world re-organization, has dealt tenderly with Franco. All the Tories are not in England, some are here at home. As the tide seems to turn from defeat to possible victory some of them have gained the courage to lift their voices. The bill to outlaw the poll tax was defeated in Congress. A fight on labor is in the offing. The President's request for authority to suspend the tariff and immigration laws for the duration was defeated on the ground of protection of American farmer and manufacturer interests. Wm. P. Witherow, retiring president of the National Assn. of Manufacturers, in an address at their annual meeting in December declared, "I am not fighting for a quart of milk for every Hottentot, or for a TVA for the Danube.... I am not making tanks or guns to help a people's revolution.... I am making armaments to help our boys save America." Mr. Witherow has stated the issue. If we are to have a decent post-war world we must defeat Hitlerism abroad and Toryism at home. None can be really free until all are free.

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TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES FOR RURAL CHURCH LEADERS

Important training opportunities for rural ministers and church leaders, to which all too little attention has been given in the past, are provided by a number of state universities and agricultural colleges through their extension departments and by certain other universities and theological seminaries. These short courses and institutes usually have the benefit of the service of faculty members in fields related to rural life and religion, plus qualified leaders from fields related to economics, sociology, community organization, welfare agencies, and farmer organizations. The cost is kept at a minimum in order to appeal to rural leaders of small income. Usually tuition is free or at most only a nominal amount, while lodging and meals are provided at reduced prices.

For Negro ministers an Institute for Rural Pastors will be held at Tennessee A. & I. College, Nashville, Tennessee on January 18-23, with the Home Missions Council of North America, Fisk University, American Baptist Theological Seminary, and Scarritt College cooperating. Tuition is free and meals will cost approximately \$1 per day. Scholarships of \$5 each are available to the first 30 qualified pastors who apply.

The annual Rural Pastors' Short Course will be held at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois, February 2, 3, and 4. Under the direction of Dr. D. E. Lindstrom, of the department of rural sociology, the school works cooperatively with the Town and Country Church Committee of the Illinois Church Council. Tuition and meals and lodging costs are nominal.

Other short courses or institutes for rural church leaders usually held in the spring are conducted at Cornell University, Vanderbilt School of Religion, College of Agriculture, Lexington, Kentucky.

A one week interdenominational school for rural pastors sponsored by the Home Missions Council of North America, will be held at Jarvis Christian College, Hawkins, Texas, April 19-24, under the auspices of the Home Missions Council. R. B. Peoples will serve as dean, assisted by Dean W. O. Gill of Jarvis with James A. Crain serving on the faculty.

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